441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

533 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
441 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to
533 prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
441 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being re-incarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of

252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

/44 cont'd/

585 262 264 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and [527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 261 [252] It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 264 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for 585 262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large 585 431 231 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably [262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] [263] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] [824] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[65 cont.]

782 [621] concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

[231] [791] [252] The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present. After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal, [574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] [791] [621] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[628 cont.]

527
[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

192
527

Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiañguor tsina-.
[252] To distill wine: dērasēñgē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõñge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieñge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimieñge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.

[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goat. (Drawing of a Tujen.

[532] The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[787] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[832 cont.]

241 782 231 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 782 252 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 782 791 787 [776] Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indicates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit, and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] [252] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M [342] well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M [264] [342] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each N *563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, M 592 554 [169] he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [782] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] M [252] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some